301 /219 cont./

314 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is regarded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different trees furnish the suitable resin; in the language of the Caiuás [192] they are called: tembetá and caiuí. The resin of the former is far more highly prized.

The extraction and preparation are done in the following way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled spot scratches a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small, hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and smoothed with amambai leaves (7). -- The triangle, however,

7. Fern.

may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sun- [184] down. The man who does it must fast after midday and the following forenoon; drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden. Prayers are said during the cutting and the attaching of the bamboo.

301 The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá; it is their 186 tribal mark. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the whites," an older man told me.

301 The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself 237 with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore 793 with chains of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people no longer know how to make them around the bow string. -- /220/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels instead of feather tufts have appeared.

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532 276 [177] Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European ones.

534 178 [192] The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Cainguá groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. -- [192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded, [535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious [533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 177 178 [439] At the present time many young people have already bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone. Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

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353 and arm bands, while on and in front of the stand lie pipes and
778 carved figures. All these things are sacred: the Indian calls
[192] them "Nhande-Yara-Mbaé" (things of our lord). A small cross
778 is hung around children's necks to protect them from harm.
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Fig. 3. A Caiuás Indian with the adorned cross, the gourd rattle, and a large tembetá. On his head, a diadem. Otherwise he is in modern dress.

Fig. 4. Two men and a boy swing the gourd rattle in simple greeting.

778 Many adults also wear one. -- All this seems to be connected with Christianity. This is not the case, however.

The cross is an ancient symbol in the religion of the Caiuás.

539 The Indian Claudio, in the presence of his aged uncle and two
[124] other very old Indians, who supplemented his report, told me the following about the origin of things and the beginning of all that came into being:

[776] The supreme god of the universe is Nhande-Rú-Vussú (Our Great Father), whom the people also call Nhande-Yára (Our Lord).

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793 184 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another village and from other people with that reported to me by Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and, on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the Apapocuva-Guarani, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. -- [171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example, with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the Dêtoana and Puruborá.

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V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 574 576 [184] 535 534 [178] A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved, especially in Panambí and Tehycué. Thus, the solemn greeting of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited, adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

[634] Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the 177 178 574 576 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./ In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the [192] greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 796 533 778 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained. In honor of Nhanderykey his song is still sung, usually in front of the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

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Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors, particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed [164] [146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individuals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism, accompanied by /27/ [732] histodontia. With respect to the latter peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the plica palpebralis is not generalized [143] in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my observations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní. The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which [177] boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses, [192] the use of the tembetá or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among [173] them. But in the mythology of this group, Tupã, the god of thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering tembetá, represented by lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part, some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and those who display it do not customarily use the tembetá; I have seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri (Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1946 under the chieftaincy of the ñanderú Miguel. Those that most [184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

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304 184 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá, "pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 [177] [189] Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 [192] Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair, divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape of the neck; when the hair grows out again, the transversal division disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput. The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already adopted the haircut common among the cabocios, except for some /28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies. The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others, "more modern," let it grow longer.

[301] [192] [554] [178]

142 182 [147] [482] [164] Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and women have very prominent calves because of the long walks

2: Schaden--34 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

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1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guaraní settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it
• [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the ñanderú, doctor-sorcerer,
361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of
621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family
596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re-
178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to discover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

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342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapýiguasú (large
• [192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/;
[192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões; cf. outões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambi. Length, about 18 meters; breadth,
[824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven
[778] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an "altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the incle-
[824] ment weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it; everything is tied with cipo.

341 When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields
178 its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction.
[177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

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341 From the architectural point of view, there are two essen-
342 tial characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast
179 to the caboclo dwellings /35/ of the region: the lack of separa-
tion or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the
absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the cover-
• [192] ing is detached from the walls. Finally, the namara (corr. of "ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch, sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwelling and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian Mbopí of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the Iberic veranda on the south side; moreover, instead of a door, some pieces of wood are used.

342 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional
177 technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost
178 all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and re-
[596] ligious organization. It constituted an ideal shelter for the conjunction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate community of life, with economic, religious, and political interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see, the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the replacement of the great house by some huts of caboclo type more
[535] or less close to one another. For certain religious and profane dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the traditional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

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342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoá), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

/37 cont./

352 [177] [513] [192] In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed, which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire. The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as seats among the Mbüá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small "hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 [412] [824] [192] For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions, has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day with the tapýixá, a broom made of rosemary or xiriríka. Secondly, the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on 574 [352] [192] the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood, sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá); if by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 [296] One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/ hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling; only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a framework of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less eager desire to appear civilized.

2: Schaden--41 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves against the inclement weather. The direct influence of Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the
[283] Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[462] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[286] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[386] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys. Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
• [192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left, turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
[386] that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all objects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains by way of decoration.

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291 184 An Indian from Amambai once told me: "Kayová does not use txiripá in the middle of the legs, like the Baticola of Paraguay; he uses it thrown around his waist and fastened with txumbé." In Dourados, on the contrary, it was insisted that the txiripá and [192] the ponchito described above /40/ have always been linked with cult practices and that the ancient ones used, as common clothing, the tambéó, a band of cloth passed between the legs and caught around the waist with a piece of embira. Since the mention of the tambéó was spontaneous, it is probable that the garment had in fact existed in the Kayová culture. And it is certain, in any case, that the use of the txiripá and the ponchito is not very suitable for the toil of hunting or even of tillage.

291 [115] The Kayová tambéó, in disuse today, has been described to me by Marçal de Souza in the following way: "It is large, like a txiripá, but it is not given a turn and a half around the body; at the height of the left hip it is tied with a salient cord; it goes down a span and a half to the middle of the thigh."

291 294 The txumbé is a band of cotton woven in patterns sometimes very pretty. It is worn around the waist. The largest, handsomest, and best worked example that I have seen measures 209 centimeters long and 12 centimeters wide, with fringes of 40 centimeters at the two ends; I acquired it in the village of Panambi. The smallest one, made on order by a woman of Dourados, is scarcely 130 centimeters [283] by 10 centimeters. The woof thread is always of white cotton, while the warp is of white and coloured thread. According to the information of Marçel de Souza from Dourados, the red and maroon colors 291 386 824 for dyeing cotton are extracted from two species of catiguá (katíguá in Kayová, katiguá in Ñandéva); the yellow color is obtained from the wild mulberry or tajuva (tadiguá). One uses the inner bark of the catiguá and the pith of the tajuva, which are boiled together with the cotton threads already twisted. (According to the same 294 286 352 184 informant, not only the Kayová women, but Ñandéva women as well weave or wove txumbé; the latter, moreover, made hammocks of txumbé joined together laterally, as well as whole hammocks in the same type of weaving, out of white cotton threads only or mixed with colored thread.) -- I often observed that the Kayová, lacking 291 a leather belt, secure their trousers with any band of cloth put around the waist in the manner of txumbé.

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292 293 [531] Aside from the txumbé, there is also a belt for exclusively ritual use, the kiákuahá, richly decorated with ipotý, flowers of toucan feathers woven into the cloth itself; it may even be worn over the txumbé; it is given only one turn around the belly, and, to fasten it, the terminal fringes are tied in front.

291 [126] The ponchito is a small poncho of very tightly woven cotton. In 1950 I acquired from Paí Vitaliano a specimen with a width varying between 50 and 55 centimeters; the average length, 125 centimeters; /41/ central opening for the head, 30 centimeters.

[286] Along the narrow ends, fringes (ipotý) 10 centimeters long, each one of two twisted threads of the warp itself, there are similar fringes in the central part of the cloth, distributed in four bundles,

[283] one to the right and one to the left of each one of the ends of the central opening. The cloth is of thread of white cotton, except for two very narrow longitudinal bands of maroon color that run through it

291 331 237 from top to bottom. Onto each shoulder is sewed a circular piece of toucan skin with yellow and orange feathers; on the chest, four flowers of feathers trimmed with threads adorned with feathers, and four more on the back. One of the flowers of the front part, of yel-

• [192] low and orange toucan (tĩkã) feathers and red canindé (kanindé) feathers, is called kurundúá; nandúá are the other flowers of toucan feathers, while the ornaments on the shoulders are called

291 [114] ñemombáéhá. According to Paí Vitaliano, the latter are "imitation of the things of Ñandedjára"; I have not obtained a translation of the different names, all "given by Ñandedjára himself." Paí Vitaliano's ponchito is no longer complete; it lacks, on the chest and on the back, an elongated cotton ornament, without feathers,

292 178 778 called iporavõhagué. The care with which the ponchito is adorned and the words with which the doctor-sorcerer refers to the symbolism of the ornaments of plumes, relating them to the world of the gods, leaves no shadow of doubt about the religious significance of the piece. Although it has the shape of a common poncho in a smaller size, the ponchito, at least nowadays, is not common clothing, but has a ritual function. I only saw it used by doctor-sorcerers. Paí Chiquinho always put it on, by way of greeting, when I visited him

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292 778 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the ponchito, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explana- [170] tion. Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the idea of a personification of the cross linked to this ponchito?

291 /42/ But, aside from the ponchito, the Kayová are also familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen • [192] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the pytĩ or puitĩ of the rural [435] populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of [192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made from sheep wool (ovetxá ragué), both made by women of the tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centimeters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinc- [428] tive touch. The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the [171] dark is of natural color. Woolen ponchos also occur among the Chaco Indians.

A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much [192] more recent origin, is the aparato (corruption of "alpargata"), a [177] sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles of this material, for the aparato, in general use among the yerba-maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. It [482] is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders [147] up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

/42 cont./
291 yerba maté (1).
[482]
[147]
[171]

1. /From p. 44 of the original source./ This type of sandal is also used by the Indians of the Andean regions. Cf., for example, Karl Schmid, 1951, p. 78.

[178] The traditional attire of the Kayová women seems to have disappeared completely. According to a description obtained at Amambai, it consisted of two pieces, the tupái and the váta. The tupái, made of "four meters" of cloth and closed by means of a lateral seam, corresponds to the men's txiripá, having more or less the same length. The Indian woman "throws it" around her waist in the manner of a skirt, and in such a way as to cover the front of the body in three layers. It is not fastened with txumbé, but [286] simply by a fold of the upper edge. For making it only coarse cotton cloth was used, woven by the women themselves or of industrial origin. The váta (from "bata"? /Port. bata, "dressing [192] gown"/) is a blouse with sleeves, which falls to the waist.

291 178 Inasmuch as the Kayová women never conduct religious ceremonies, and therefore do not use ceremonial garments, it is understandable that the female garb disappeared more quickly than that of the men. /43/ The ponchito and the txiripá could survive longer, because they were connected with functions important for the life of the collectivity.

291 [192] Among the more northerly Kayová I have not heard any references to the female garb of two pieces, but to the typói, a sort of cotton sack, which falls to mid-calf, having three openings in the upper part, one for the head and others for the arms. Tupái and typói are, perhaps, variants of the same primitive garment.

291 184 Although on the way to disappearing, the relatively rich clothing of the Kayová contrasts with that of the Ñandéva and the Mbüá.

Among the Ñandéva of the coast one no longer sees any piece of the traditional clothing. Those of Mato Grosso wear, as we have seen, the txumbé and, rarely, the txiripá, similar or equal to those of the Kayová. The ponchito, however, seems always to have

/43 cont./

291 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the
184 other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The women's garment, the tipói (typói?), which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

291 The Mbüá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort
• [192] of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (koïtsã) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. On none of my visits to the Mbüá Indians of Brazil did I
[114] have an opportunity to see an original tambéu; I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroÿsã. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 36 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes.
[286] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth,
[177] formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbüá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbüá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the
[184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment, /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type; I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another
[184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mbüá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

/49 cont./

243 824 [1093] too. The red maize avatí pukú pytã, gives "strength" to the white maize, so that the latter will have big and heavy ears. Djakairá was a Kayová Indian who received the white saboró maize from the hands of the "Vírgen de los Milagres," in Caácupé, Paraguay, when he was fleeing from the forces of Lopez. -- An

243 824 121 abstraction made from the end, perhaps born in the brain of the informant himself, the whole explanation, despite not being very convincing, and not corresponding very well to the demands of our logic, seems to have the merit of showing that the familiarity of the Guaraní with maize and its cultivation, going back perhaps to very ancient times, gives him a perfect notion of the phenomena of degeneration characteristic of this domestic plant. In the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily and in a rational way the empirical data that nevertheless impose themselves on his mind in the form of a "scientific" problem to be solved, the Indian makes use of representations from his supernatural world, but, for that reason, without being satisfied with a solution remaining entirely on the plane of mythical ideas, very much to the taste incidentally, of Guaraní mentality.

243 796 All the activities that refer to the production of maize constitute or may constitute the opportunity for religious ceremonies, particularly among the Kayová. It seems that the frequency of the ceremonies and the special situations in which they should be held depend on the decision and /50/ the criterion of the respective paí or doctor-sorcerer. One paí of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim [115] Constant in Amambai described to me a whole mongaraí sequence (ceremonies, blessings, "baptisms"), a real ceremonial cycle [192] [824] paralleling that of the tilling of maize. Angá is "to give the blessing," an act that in the village referred to takes place in eight different phases: before the clearing is burned (djadjapó roá roráangá, let us give the blessing of the clearing); on the eve of the beginning of the planting (djahá angá ñanderosá kaýguẽ, let us go to baptize the burned clearing); when the maize is about half a meter tall, that is, when it is a matter of combatting the hũ a só, an insect that eats the leaves (djahá ñañembo'é ñandé avatí rũ arasoré); when the kernel is forming, a time when "rust"

/51 cont./

244 262 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient [114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases [171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primi- [177] tive natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

252 Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for • [192] that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parí kãtĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní. To the grated mass that is to yield the parí kãtĩ is added mandió pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains in the tipití for one night, so that the mandiókuêra drains off. [192] The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour-pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven" (Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./ It is interesting to compare this technique with the last one of the three indicated by Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá. Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[171] [192] But the white flour, parí vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kuí morõtĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I [114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use [126] of the grater.

/52 cont./

276 [824] a grill and pulverized between the hands; add ashes of guadjayvi, guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called huguẽ; furthermore, kýi or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information of the Indians themselves. Old Dobrizhoffer already mentions [415] that the Cainguá (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-mascar/ called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes [824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one [178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter [439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One [192] of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbüá is the pipe, pẽtỹguá, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbüá, to be sure, manufacture [192] cigarettes (pẽtỹ ñomimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those with paper. Among the Ñandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

276 184 [192] Among the Mbüá almost everybody smokes, including very young children; once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette, fearing that they will become dizzy: "txedjuká." Among the Ñandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbüá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. jiçara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, fio I, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

224 411 177 [192] [178] Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá pïá (an arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees), is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbüá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter, [825] however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native [182] economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals [422] who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

/54 cont./

224 [192] When a herd of wild pigs (tadjasú) appears in the vicinity of the village, a collective hunt is organized, in which some four to six persons participate. The distribution of the animals killed, made by whomever killed them, benefits all the great-families of the community. All is divided into equal portions, including that for the hunter, and there are no special parts intended for this one or that one.

226 [361] Similar to what happens in connection with many other aspects of Guaraní culture, the importance of fishing in the assemblage of economic activities varies, as is natural, according to the possibilities and conditions of the environment. Scattered over an immense area, the villages are sometimes found near watercourses rich in fish, sometimes in /55/ regions that offer fish in small quantities, which obviously conditions on a broad scale the interest given to this source of food.

226 184 [192] It is true that there are also differences of an undeniably cultural character. While the Ñandéva of Bananal, for example, limit themselves to catching, with the aid of the weel and rarely with the hook, some river fish -- taraý (traíra), bagre, cará -- and while among the Kayová fishing is practically nonexistent, the Mbüá, wherever they are settled, will try to take advantage, as best they can, of the fish available in the watercourses.

226 There are various methods of fishing in vogue among the Mbüá. In the village of Rio Branco, for instance, I noted the existence of weels of taquara cane or of timbópé (used only by the men), of metal hooks (used by preference by the women), of parí with timbo, and of fishtraps. As for the metal hooks, they claim to have been using them since time immemorial; when they do not have the purchased ones, they make them out of wire, or, when for lambaris, out of sewing needles; lacking purchased lines, they use tucuma fiber. To fish with timbo they build a parí in the river, cut timbo, put it on a stone and grind it with another one, throwing it in quantity into the water. No timbo is used in the [192] fishtrap; a "chiqueiro" /pen/ is made in the river, with a wooden board that falls ("disarms") when the traíra or other fish moves the

/55 cont./

226 bait. Some individuals still fish with the aid of bow and arrow. As for the harpoon and the fishing net, they say that they never used them. The fish are not strung on a cord, but collected in a basket or, lacking that, strung on a little stick provided with a crook. Now and then collective fishing expeditions are organized. [462] If they are far from home, the men fish while the women roast [252] the fish on the spot (mokã é), where it is consumed. When nearby, [192] they carry everything to the village, where they share the yield with those who remained behind.

The collective fishing expeditions of the Mbüá of Xapecó last for many months.

421 In spite of the little importance of the economic preoccupations in the tribal culture, one sees quite a keen sense of private property. The researcher trying to acquire for the ethnographic collection some object -- a basket, for example -- that belongs to a child will not obtain it without the latter's consent, even though he perhaps offers by /56/ way of remuneration an implement greatly coveted by the parents. The money received in the street [262] by the children on the occasion of visits to São Paulo or another [192] city belongs to them themselves; they spend it, in general, on [432] wheat bread (mbodjapé), one of their preferred tidbits. On the other hand, in the matter of food for immediate consumption, the [114] individual makes his interest prevail. In São Paulo I once offered a basket with a few dozen bananas to a group of Mbüá; all advanced on the fruit at once, each one snatching what he could and immediately concealing the product of his agility under the blankets, traveling bags, or coats scattered around in the corners [224] of the hut where the Indians were staying. This attitude noticeably contrasts with the fairness that these same Mbüá maintain when [178] they distribute the yield from hunting (even individual hunting) in their own village. One sees that in the latter case the ancient institution of the tribal economy is still alive.

/56 cont./

436 829 177 [192] From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní have an interesting attitude toward money (pirẽ, peráta; pirápirẽ, paper money; among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú, big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá mirim, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay). The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign

436 829 177 454 to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent; there is no question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbüá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising, likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Txané /Chane/ and Txiriguãno /Chiriguano/,

423 171 Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vocapoy, the chiefs /57/ are the sole owners of the land. Batirayu said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

8. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 201.

/71 cont./

858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
869 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Ikariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

584 /77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree
with the bride and groom and with the ñanderu on the day of the
[192] oñomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
585 use the name ñemongaraí (!). The ñanderú performs the mar-
192 riage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
[622] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká
and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who
have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have
djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá
(diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão,
probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
[622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the ñanderú
blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both
hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom.
Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women
(the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
[608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony
there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom,
the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
[533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held,
[177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
585 Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married
177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
[192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
[608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons
who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration
at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
[608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the
registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not
mock the Indians."

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/91 cont./

881 302 301 When the first menses appear, the hair of the adolescent is cut in circular fashion, or her head is shorn, and she keeps it covered with a cloth, in order to avoid the attacks of evil spirits and in particular the odjépotá (1).

1./In the original source, the notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98./ The Mbüá told me that among them the task of cutting the girl's hair falls to the father, immediately on the first day of the indisposition. With her hair, the girl makes -- for her father, brother, or another person in the family -- a band that constitutes one of the typical elements of Guaraní material culture, since it is an ornament common to the three subgroups of the tribe. It is mainly the men who wear it, with some forty or more turns around each wrist, forming a band about ten centimeters wide. It is a cord twined out of two strands of 10 to 20 threads of hair in each one. The Kayová call the ornament pó-apý-kuahá, the Mbüá simply pó-kuáá. The Ñandéva, who already have almost completely abandoned it, say that it originated as protection against the bowstring, which seems doubtful, since its use on both wrists would not be justified. The Kayová consider the pó-apý-kuahá as a festive ornament, comparable, in the words of Paí Tomás, to the new clothes of the civilized people. The Mbüá, who put the band both on the wrists and on the legs, the men above and the women below the calves, tetýmĩguá and tetýmĩkuáá, interpret its use as a divine institution for the "Guarani" to be distinguished from other Indians. But they also indicate the magical end of avoiding the tiredness of the musculature of the arms and legs, the tetýmĩguá therefore being considered indispensable on long walks.

881 301 (184)

881 301 184 192

881 301 829 751

/91 cont./

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[184]
[237]
[192]
[751]

considered indispensable on long walks. At Xapecó I was told that especially the women tend to abandon the band for the legs, "because the Portuguese mock them"; many men wear them hidden under the trousers. The Kayová say they are not familiar with the hair band for the legs, using, however, a different one, y-aaó, made from the shell of a small water animal of like name; it is put on boys at an early age, there being attributed to it the virtue of preventing snake bites.

881
[751]
[824]

During the days of menstruation the Ñandéva girl repeatedly washes her head in cedar water /Port. agua de cedro/ in order not to have headaches. The Kayová administer to the adolescent, like tea, an infusion of yvyrá rapóguasú root.

The prescribed measures are largely similar to those taken during the couvade, with the difference that, even today, they are much more rigorous, at least during the first days. They include absolute seclusion in the cubicle of the hut that the father takes it upon himself to shut up in such a way that hardly any daylight enters. The girl stays there isolated, without being able to go [191] out (except for physiological needs) or to receive visitors, lying down in the hammock or bed of boards, but without the strict prohibition against touching the ground that is found in other Brazilian tribes. [352] In any case, however, the Mbüá take the precaution of building for the girl a very high bed in order to stay far enough from the ground and not to be reached by the yvýdjá, spirit of the earth. The common prohibition against putting the hands on the hairy skin of the head is not known. During the resguardo the "patient" has scarcely any contact with the persons of her own family; even these speak softly to her and she answers in the same way.

/96 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 [115] The kunumĩ-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the ñemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý rý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráĩdjá, that is, an officiant assisting the ñanderú or paĩ.

881 782 304 624 [192] [622] 056 [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráĩdjá also has the office of piercer -- the ñanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apykâ, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apykâ, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apykâ to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apykâ; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráĩdjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

2: Schaden--120 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

624 /99 cont./
621 least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief,
[648] leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

622 The name ñanderú (1)
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• 192

1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination paí, with which the Kayová also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term ñanderú, is etymologically linked to mbaír. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, Maíra is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 332); Bahira is the civilizer hero of the Parintintin of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1945). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "Mair, a name for the French among the Tupis of Brazil. The Guaranis of Paraguay called the Spanish -- mbaí. The two words Mair and Mbaí are contracted forms of mbae-ira, which expresses -- the one apart, the solitary one, the one who lives far away. From mbae-ira comes: mbaíra, maíra, mair, mbaí. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they likened them, because of their superiority, to their own

2: Schaden--121 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/99 cont./

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sorcerers, called pajés or caraíbas, who led a solitary life in the remote part of the forests, in the caves of the distant mountains." -- The replacement of mbaí by the form paí should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of porahêi by mborahêi, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians. Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupi tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer hero Maíra as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 100, note 3). And the Tupinambá of the Island of Maranhão, who used paí to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, p. 88, passim.) The use of paí as a designation for doctor-sorcerer has been discussed in the note "Pajé," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Buggenhagen, 1951, pp. 129-131.

[787] given to the "prayer-man" /"rezador"/, or religious chief, seems to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a Ñandéva the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with Koarahý, solar di-
[624] vinity, also called Ñanderú by the Ñandéva and Mbüá. The latter also called the spiritual leader ñanderúvitxá ("our chief"),
[184] a term with which the capitão is likewise designated. In the three subgroups the ñanderú is seconded in the religious ceremonies by assistants who have the title of yvyraídjá.

/115 cont./

774
822 admitting that Sebastião, in the capacity of ñanderú, is more competent. Poýdjú, who claims to have become one who prays after he became old, spontaneously confesses, by the way, his ignorance in many things concerning religious doctrine. Many others, principally men of middle age, declare themselves incompetent in matters of theology and religion.

774 Ayvú properly means language; sometimes one also hears
[192] someone say ñeẽ, speech. The ayvú -- or the several ayvú, as the case may be -- is of divine origin, that is, it shares the nature of the supernatural spirits. It is responsible for the desires, feelings, and the noblest manifestations of the individual.
[191] The basic, primordial function of the soul is to confer upon man
774 the gift of language; thus the designation. It is an interesting
824 fact because of showing that the idea of interhuman communica-
156 tion is placed first, in consonance, by the way, with the philosophy of life, characteristic of tribal societies, that looks at the human being above all as a social animal, as a fragment of the group. The individual has value socially to the extent that he is part
774 of the community and communicates with his comrades. Furthermore, the Ñandéva "psychologist" tries to explain the play of individual inclinations and tendencies. Just as in this play /116/ distinct and sometimes contradictory traits can be isolated, nothing is more natural than to consider the soul divided up into several component units.

The atsýyguá, constituting primarily the basis of biological existence and of the hormic manifestations, always corresponds to the nature or disposition of some animal; it therefore represents the animal character of the person or, as I have also heard said, the "incarnate genius." Perhaps in this case the psychologists of the Western world would use the term temperament or what
[828] has come to correspond to it in modern times. Good and peaceable
[825] fellow-tribesmen have the atsýyguá of a butterfly, a hummingbird,

/121 cont./
774 (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as
828 doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýterã, celestial
[776] beings or spirits ("ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere, are identified with the Kayová tribe itself; there are, by the way, several categories of tavýterã, one of them called
775 verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuẽ of the adult goes to
[776] meet Hyapúguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yváŷñemondehẽ, where it puts on resplendent garments; the place is also called kañinguẽry rupá ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, however, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of
[192] happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ, a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --
[776] The ayvúkuẽ of a child, contrary to what happens with that of an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called guyrárovádjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of
[828] Ñandesy ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celestial region called yrukitýtétã. The less good part of the soul, the one that becomes anguẽry, is being formed during the earthly existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no anguẽry.

782 3. The prayer, manner of union between the world of
796 the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his religious experiences is the /122/ porahẽi, or prayer. The
[533] porahẽi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of
[534] mbaraká and takuápú for marking the rhythm of the dance. Song, dance (djiroky), and instrumental sound thus constitute a unity. The porahẽi is sometimes communitarian depending

/122 cont./

782 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians
424 considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively
114 refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to
[123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacarei confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [796] [829]

782 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is,
778 in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression
774 that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest
[192] itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language
782 or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, mean-
778 ing, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,
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3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

consuming them without the more strenuous labor of axe work. In most new clearings, a second burning was necessary, and in such cases, the unburned slash was nearly always piled up about fallen trunks or live trees.[a] Planting was done in the spring in the ash-covered, burnt-over ground in the midst of charred and partially consumed trunks and stumps. These impediments caused relatively little difficulty as far as Cayuá planting was concerned because the principal planting implements were a digging stick (*sarakwá*) and possibly some sort of pre-iron, hoe-like implement. Such tools worked well enough in the irregular, trunk-strewn ground, but the crude and untended appearance of the aboriginal *kokwá* (agricultural clearing) caused unfavorable comment both from the Jesuits and from Dr. Rengger, accustomed alike to the smooth, unobstructed European fields where the plow had to pass.

A point of some difficulty to affirm, for lack of actual information on the Cayuá, concerns the sexual division of labor in agriculture. That the men did the heavy work of cutting and burning the fields seems certain enough, and this is also the case today. But today men have a considerable role in the rest of agriculture as well, including the planting, tending, and harvesting of a number of crops. The women are also important at present, and, indeed, apparently indispensable in farming certain crops, notably corn. However, the work of agriculture after the burning of the fields is now by no means exclusive with women. But in early accounts of Coastal Tupi, agriculture, except for cutting and burning, was largely and unmistakably a female province; the man's time was much occupied in hunting and fishing. Besides the comparative data from Tupi-Guarani peoples, we have the fact that a post-Conquest change in the sexual division of labor in agriculture is likely in the Cayuá instance. We have some grounds, therefore, in spite of the lack of documents, in stating that the aboriginal Cayuá had female agriculture.

Somewhat less important to the aboriginal Cayuá than agriculture (but quite important notwithstanding) were hunting and gathering. Agriculture was a seasonal, primarily female, activity, which left the men free for extensive hunting and fishing. Among game animals that the Cayuá esteemed were deer, *paca*, *caitetu* (sometimes *taitetu*), *tapir* or *anta*, *capivara*, and armadilloes. The *paca* is a rodent, the *caitetu* is a wild-pig that roams the forests in bands and is considered dangerous quarry because of the numbers in which they usually move, and the *anta* is an ungulate and American relative of the hippopotamus and horse. The armadillo or *tatú* is much smaller quarry and is usually dug out of his burrow. The meat is considered good by the Cayuá, and the shells have long been used for vessels and containers. Several wild varieties of the cat family are also found locally, but the Cayuá did not apparently share the

[a] This process is today known in Brazil as *coivara*, both the name and the practice having been taken over from the aborigines, according to some.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

system of recognized proprietary rights over hives when found (according to the finder), and indications are that a rude sort of conservation was practiced. This aimed at not destroying a hive or robbing it to the extent that the bee swarm would move to another location, making it necessary to rediscover them or find a new swarm. Amulets are reported for honey gathering among modern Cayuá[48] and apparently were used to keep the bee swarms from leaving their hives as well as to insure a good quantity of honey. There is little reason to think such practices uniquely modern. The magic in this regard is generally similar to hunting magic.[49]

MATERIAL CULTURE

The aboriginal Cayuá house type was the *tapúi*, a long house with a roof which sloped to the ground. The heavy part of the interior structure was composed of a quadrangular skeleton of stout poles lashed together, using crotches in the uprights to place horizontal pieces. Over this basic structure was erected a light framework of bamboo stringers or other small material, inclined at a 45° to 50° angle; running from the ground, the opposite banks of stringers met at the roof peak. (See Plate I.) Across these, all around the structure, were lashed the horizontal stringers, regularly spaced. The sides of the house were flat, but the ends were rounded out like half-sections of cones. The general impression has been described as that of an overturned boat, V-shaped in cross-section. The whole was then thatched, and appears quite similar to the house type described for the Coastal Tupi; it is also generally similar to that in use among a number of Amazonian peoples, not Tupi-Guarani. The doors were usually low and were from one to three in number, possibly more. Such houses varied in size, but in the main they were to be described as large. The size of the structure and the disposition of interior arrangements all unmistakably show that the *tapúi* was intended to accommodate the extended family, which was aboriginally the basic unit of society.

Houses were placed in cleared spaces in the forest, and a rectangular ground immediately in front and about the *tapúi* was beaten hard and grassless by the feet of many dancers.

The furniture of the *tapúi* was fairly simple. There were small, low wooden benches carved from a single block of wood, sometimes, if not always, in the shape of animals. Hammocks were knotted of cords of *caraguatá* fiber and perhaps also from cotton. Strelnikov mentions a modern hammock of pigskin,[50] and therefore hide may formerly have been so used, although this is

[48] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 741.

[49] Honey probably had unusual importance to certain aboriginal peoples of Brazil, for its qualities if not always for its quantity. This is also suggested indirectly. Today, the rural Neo-Brazilians in the region of the Cayuá attribute to wild honey a considerable dietetic and curative virtue.

[50] Strelnikov, 1928, p. 336.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

doubtful. Apparently sleeping was not entirely restricted to the hammock among the Cayuá, however, as Rengger mentions children reclining on skins of animals.[a] There is some indication that hammocks were reserved for adults. Hammocks were hung all about the interior of the *tapúi*, in each family section, and could be unslung for extra space during the day.

Every aboriginal *tapúi* had its mortar, and probably most had several of these. Mortars were made of hard wood which had been burned and hacked until there was a depression in the end or in the side: both "vertical" and "horizontal" mortars may have been made, although the "vertical" was much more common.[b] Pestles were either simple, smoothed pieces of wood with rounded ends, or might be tapered in the middle to make a better grip and to lighten them. Sometimes the two pounding ends were different as well, one being regularly blunted while the other was flattened laterally, giving the pestle somewhat the appearance of a narrow, thick spatula.

Long troughs for *cãuí'* beer, cut out of logs in much the same manner as a dugout canoe, were usually to be found by each *tapúi*. Some of the present-day troughs are of great size—as much as thirty feet long and a yard or more wide inside—and it may be that formerly, when every house had its own trough (and without metal tools), they were never as large. The smaller troughs are still to be seen and are usually less than half the size of the largest observed.

Pottery vessels were used which were made by the Cayuá women themselves. The use of these vessels, however, may have been somewhat limited in that gourds could be used for many of the same purposes except direct cooking on the fire. The metal vessels of the European have practically replaced aboriginal pottery, although the use of the gourd still widely persists. Gourds were used to carry water, generally in this case being provided with a coarse net and carrying loop of vegetable fiber. Larger gourds (up to 2 feet in diameter) were used for storing *cãuí'*, tiny ones for keeping paint pigments and herbal remedies, and open half-gourds were used for drinking and eating dippers. The shell of the armadillo made a good container for corn and similar substances. Small gourds were sometimes ingeniously cut so that the top could be used as a close-fitting cover, held tight by cords passing through holes in both parts. Pyrographic decoration of gourds is suggested aboriginally.

Admirably woven, round, flat, sieves of hard, rattan-like material were used for straining *cãuí'* beer and in pounding corn, for separating out coarse grains which needed more grinding. Other basket work seems to have been limited to the woman's back basket, *mbunakũ'* (or *adjakú*), worn across the

[a] Rengger, 1835, p. 117.

[b] It is possible, however, that the horizontal type of mortar is modern. It is now much used to crush the juice from sugar cane, an operation for which the upright type with smaller basin is ill suited. Sugar cane is, of course, post-contact.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

back of the shoulders and supported by a tumpline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraguatá*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *mbocói* (the word for "two"?).

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Cainguá (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

> are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Cainguá of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as *"Cayuá ou Cainguá du Brésil"* (p. 61)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.[83]

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pañ," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loincloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apron, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.[84] Small caps of cotton are mentioned,[85] and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "leglets" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, is supposed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the march, while the bracelets—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the slap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.[86]

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,[87] but no feather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

[83] Métraux, 1928, p. 207. [84] Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704. [85] *Ibid.*, p. 705.
[86] *Ibid.* [87] Rengger, 1835, p. 121, *et passim*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *paí*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[48] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takuapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbaraká* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takuapá* and *mbaraká* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[49]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapái*. The *tapái*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[48] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 151 ff.

[49] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

identical to male Ego's "son," *Iera'ỹ;* and male Ego's "daughter" was *Ierajỹ* (phonetically a close variant of "son," *Iera'ỹ*). But male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was *Iesiipé*, quite a different term phonemically. *Iesiipé* is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupi on the point of the avuncular marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, *Iepé*. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[69]

The avuncular marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization.

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupi-Guarani peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[70]

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapúi*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "*tubisha*" or "cacique," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralise native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans.

[69] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[70] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

But these examples are sufficient to show the multiplied variety of the second person. Amongst the Guaranies too, the possessives are affixed to the nouns, but this occasions no difficulty, because the mutation is regular: thus, *Tuba*, a father. *Cheruba*, my father. *Nderuba*, thine. *Tuba*, his. *Guba*, theirs. *Tayŭ*, a son. *Cherayŭ*, mine. *Nderayŭ*, thine. *Tayŭ*, his. *Guayŭ*, theirs. *Che* is prefixed to nouns for the first person, and *Nde* for the second, without variation. Likewise in the plural they say *Ñande*, or *Oreruba*, our father. *Penduba*, your father. *Tuba*, or *Guba*, their father. In all other substantives these particles supply the place of possessives.

The following observation must be made on the possessive nouns of the Abipones. If they see any thing whose owner they do not know, and wish to be made acquainted with, they enquire to whom it belongs in various ways. If the object in question be animate, (even though it only possess vegetable life,) as wheat, a horse, a dog, a captive, &c. they say *Cahami lelà?* whose property is this? to which the other will reply, *Ylà*, mine. *Grelè*, thine. *Lelà*, his. On the other hand, if the thing be inanimate, as a spear, a garment, food, &c. they say *Kahamì kaldm*, to whom does this

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

chìt; but as they are unable to express *second, third, fourth,* in their language, instead of these numbers, they place before the commandments, *and another, and another,* &c. *Cat laháua, cat laháua,* &c. They have, however, words signifying first and last, *Enàm cahèk,* that which goes before, and *Iñagehék,* that which comes last. A 192* 802

They have only two distributive numerals: each *Iñitarapè,* and *Iñóakatapè,* which answers to the Latin, *bini. Liñoaka yahat,* means twice. *Ekátarapek,* and sometimes *Haûc ken,* once. This is the extent of the Abiponian arithmetic, and the whole of their scanty supply of numbers. Scarce richer are the Guarany Indians, who cannot go beyond the number four. They call One, *Peteỹ.* Two, *Mokoỹ.* Three, *Mbohapĭ.* Four, *Irundỹ.* First, *Iyipĭbae.* Second, *Imomokoyndaba.* Third, *Imombohapĭhaba.* Fourth, *Imoimrundỹhaba.* **Singuli, Peteỹteỹ. Bini, Mokoỹmokoỹ. Terni, Mbohápĭhapĭ. Quaterni, Irundỹ rundỹ.* Once, *Peteỹ yebĭ.* Twice, *Mokoỹ yebi,* &c. The Guaranies, like the Abipones, when questioned respecting a thing exceeding four, immediately reply, *Ndipapahabi,* or *Ndipapahai,* innumerable. But as a knowledge of numbers is highly necessary in the uses of civi- G 192 802 G 802 177

* I give the original Latin in this and other places, where the English does not fully express the meaning.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

another. *Hapagrani*, I teach thee. *Riápagr̃ani*, thou teachest me. *Riapagr̃an*, he teaches me. *Yapagr̃an*, he teaches him.

Hamelk, I whip. *Hámelgi*, I whip thee. *Riámelgi*, thou whippest me. *Riamelk*, he whips me. *Gramelgi*, he whips thee. *Yamélk*, he whips him.

Hakleenté, I remember. *Hakleenchitápegr̃ari*, I remember thee. *Hakleenchitapegii*, thou rememberest me. *Yákleentetápegil*, he remembers me. From these instances, you will perceive the variation in transitive verbs, as sometimes *eñoà*, sometimes *yégarige*, sometimes *raĩ*, or other particles, must be added to the different persons. Believe me, the learning of them is extremely tedious to Europeans, and can only be effected by long acquaintance with these savages. Other Americans also use these transitive verbs, but their form is the same, whether mutual action or passion is expressed. Thus the Guaranies say, *Ahaĩhù*, I love. *Orohaĩhù*, I love thee. *Ayukà*, I kill. *Oroyukà*, I kill thee. *Amboé*, I teach. *Oromboe*, I teach thee, &c. What can be easier or more expeditious than this?

They sometimes express the relative who, by *eknam*, or, in the plural number, *enonam*, thus: *Dios eknam Kaogarik:* God who is the creator.

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
814 Abipon 814

GUARANI SM?

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*192 Spaniard come, I shall be brave: *Tach hanék*
+193 *Kadmelk, la riapotam.* See how well the Abipones do without the verb *to be!* as also the verb *to have.* I have many horses: *Ayte yla ahëpega:* many horses mine. I have many fleas: *Netegink loapakate enò! Pop.* I have no meat: *Chitkaekà lpabè.* I have no fishes: *Chigekoà ndayi. Hekà* has the same meaning with the Abipones that *datur* or *suppetit* has with the Latins, *es giebet* with the Germans, and *hay* with the Spaniards. *Chitkaekà* is a negative, and signifies that there is no meat, fishes, &c. In the plural number it changes to *chigekoà.* Is there food? *Meka kanák?*

A
Neogà means a day, and likewise time.
[805] *Grauek*, the moon, is taken for a month. *Yñicŕa*, the flower of the alfaroba, also denotes a year. Hence, when they wish to ask any one how old he is, they say, How many times has the alfaroba blossomed during your life-time? *Hegem leyera yñiegari?* which is a very poetical expression. For the body they name the
A
[196] skin or bone, thus taking the part for the whole. *Yoalè* means only a husband; it is however used to signify a man. In the same way
G the Guaranies use the word *Aba*, which denotes
192 a husband, and the Guarany nation, as they
196 have no word for man. *Aba che* has three meanings, I am a *Guarany*, I am a *man*, or I am

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4

GUARANI SM4

a *husband;* which of these is meant, must be gathered from the tenor of the conversation. Perhaps there are nowhere more virgins than in the country of the Abipones, yet they cannot express a virgin except by a paraphrase, as *haayè* simply means a young girl. For never, they say *chik* or *chit*, thus, I shall never go hence: *Chik rihiukàm.* They more frequently say, *Chitlgihe rihiukàm. Chitlgihe* means, there appears no time in which I shall go hence. They express *eternal* by interminable, thus: Life eternal, *Eleyr̃a chit kataikañi*, the life which is not finished. We used the Spanish word for God, whose name they are ignorant of: *Dios, eknam Kaógarik*, or *Naenatr̃anak hipigem, kachka aalò.* God, who is the maker of all things, or the creator of heaven and earth. *Kauè* signifies to make; *Kaógarik*, a maker. They call eggs *Tetarik l'kauetè*, the hen's work.

They cannot express *everywhere* in one word, but explain it in this way: God is in heaven, in earth, and there is not a place in which he is not; *Menetchegem quem hipigém, menetañi quen aalod, ka chigekòr amà, chig enaè.* I omit innumerable other words which they want, but which they make up for in various ways. Many things which we always express with one and the same word, they distinguish with various names, or entirely transform, by clothing the original word

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
SI4 Abipon SI4
GUARANI SM4

grow. *Neboke* is a kind of palm. *Nemelkehat*, a field sowed with wheat, which is called *nemelk*. The Guaranies make use of the same compendious expression, substituting *ti* for the particle *hat*, thus: *Abati*, maize. *Abatiti*, a maize-field. *Petĩ*, tobacco. *Petîndi*, a place where tobacco is grown. For the sake of the euphony, to which the Guaranies are particularly attentive, *ndi* is substituted for *ti*.

Ik. The names of almost all trees end in this syllable. *Apèhe*, the fruit chañar. *Apehìk*, the tree. *Oaik*, the white alfaroba. *Roak*, the red. The trees which produce it, *Oáikik*, and *Roaikik*. Though the alfaroba is also called *Hamáp*.

Rẽki signifies the vessel, place, or instrument in which any thing is shut up, kept, or contained. *Nañamrẽki*, a cup, from *nañàm*, I drink. *Neetrẽki* signifies the same thing: for *ñeèt* and *nañàm* are synonimous. *Kataranrẽki*, an oven, a chafing-dish, from *Nkáatèk*, fire. *Keyeerán-rẽkì*, a tub in which clothes are washed with soap, for *keyaranrẽàt* is their word for soap.

Layt has almost the same signification as the former particle. *Yabogék layt*, a snuff-box, *yabogék* being Abiponian for snuff. *Ahëpegrlayt*, a fold for horses.

Landà is a very useful word, and often serves as a sacred anchor, which beginners, slightly

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
S14 Abipon S14
GUARANI SM4

faces by this name as if they were a terror to the eyes.

Latè, indicates the place of action, thus: *Nahamátr̃alatè*, the place of the fight. *Kiñicr̃alatè*, the place where one eats, that is, the table.

They ingeniously invented names borrowed from their native tongue, for things introduced from Europe, or made by Europeans. They did not like either to appear poor in words, or to contaminate their language by adopting foreign ones, like the other Americans who borrow words from the Spaniards. Horses, which the Spaniards call *cavallos*, the Guaranies call *cavayù*, and oxen, which the Spaniards call *nobillos*, they call *nobì*. The Abipones, on the contrary, call a horse *ahëpegak*, an ox, *ýùihàk*, and a bull, *ýùihàk lepà*, an uncastrated ox, a name derived from their own language, though, before the coming of the Spaniards, they were unacquainted with these animals. They call a church *loakal ſcëriki*, the house of images, or *natamenr̃eki*, where thanks are given to God. A gun is expressed by *netelr̃anr̃e*, which means a bow from which arrows are cast. Perhaps it is derived from the word *neetè*, a storm, because a gun resembles the thundering of a storm. Gunpowder is called *netelr̃anr̃e leenr̃a*, the flour of the gun; a book, *lakatka*, which means a word, tongue, speech. They call a letter, or any

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUARANI 514

When they have the head-ache they cry *Là ỳlvichigi yemaĕat*, now my head is angry. When fatigued with manual labour, *Là ỳlvichigi yauigĕa*, now my blood is angry, they exclaim with a smile. When in anger, they say, *Là ànahegem yauel*, now my heart hath risen. When impatient at any inconvenience, they vociferate: *Là lanamouge yapĭk*, now my patience is ended, now I will bear this no longer.

Although the Guaranies and many other people of America have none but post-positions in their language, the Abipones use prepositions likewise. Thus the Guaranies, in making the sign of the cross, say: *Tuba haè layĕa, hae Espiritu Santo rera pĭpe.* Amen. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. For *pĭpe* means *in*, and *rera name* with them. The Abipones, on the contrary, say: *Men lakalátoèt Netà, kat Náitaĕat, kachka Espiritu Santo.* Amen. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, &c. *Men* signifying *in*, and *lakalátoèt*, a *name*. *Men, mek, kèn*, or *en kerà*, signifies *in* or *at*, either with or without motion. *Men aaloa, men hipigem*, in the earth, in heaven. *Lahik ken nepàrk*, now I go to the plain. *Là rihi mek Kaáma loctà*, now I remove to the lands of the Spaniards. They are unacquainted with the preposition *with* which denotes society: they would express the

1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUARANI 514

oagan, yet, however. *Encha klatàm keèn èúbnek, oagan netackaik:* Though this man is beautiful, yet he is cowardly. *Tán* means *because*, and *máoge*, therefore. *Tán ayte apatáye ken nepark, máoge chik dàtèkan:* Because there are many gnats in the plain, therefore I have not slept. *Men, men*, mean as, so. *Men netà, men naetarat*, As the father, so the son.

They have various exclamations of wonder, grief, joy, &c. *Kemen apalaik akami!* How stingy and tenacious of thy own property thou art! *Kemén naáchik*, or *Kimill naáchik!* Oh! how useful this will be to me! is their way of thanking you for a gift; for neither the Abipones nor Guaranies have any word whereby to express thanks. What wonder, since gratitude is unknown, even by name, among them, that they do not display it their actions? For, as some one observed, they think benefits like flowers—only pleasant as long as they are fresh. One repulse entirely effaces the memory of former benefits from the minds of the Indians. The Guaranies, on receiving a gift, use the same phrase, and say, *Aquiyebete ángà:* This will be useful to me. The Abipones, after obtaining what they ask, sometimes thanked the giver with nothing but the word *Kliri:* This is what I wanted. In wonder or compassion, they exclaim, *Kem ekemat! Ta yeegàm!* or